PATTERNS OF POWER · THE IBERIA SERIES · VOLUME III

The Laboratory They Shipped

Spain and its Indies from the fall of Granada to the fall of the empire, 1474–1826: how a closed text replaced the priced contract, how creed hardened into blood, and how eight centuries of governing machinery crossed an ocean

Thomas J. Bryan

with Claude (Anthropic)

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A Note on This Collaboration

This volume, like the series it belongs to, is a collaboration between a human author and an artificial intelligence. The analytical framework — the floor of force and the managed belief, the loaded words, the tested and the revealed, the traps of instrument and metabolism, the second inquiry into order among hierarchies, and the standing disciplines of the project — is Thomas J. Bryan's, developed across the collection this volume completes for Iberia. The historical research, the verification of dates, figures, decrees and treaty terms against current scholarship, the architecture of the argument and the drafting of the text are the work of Claude, an AI model built by Anthropic, directed by the author's framework and revised under his disciplines. An earlier study of this material exists in the project's files, written before the series' vocabulary and methods had matured; this volume supersedes it. The trilogy's closing audit applies the project's rule to the project itself: every framework here, including this one, is held as tested, never revealed. Whatever errors remain are the collaboration's own.

The Argument in Eight Parts

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I. The Two Surrenders

Granada capitulated on sixty-seven articles — the old machine's best draft — and within a decade the articles were burned with the books: Talavera's gradient against Cisneros's bonfire, the Alpujarras, and the 1502 decree that deleted the category of priced unbelief itself.

II. The Test That Moved to Blood

From the pogroms of 1391 to the Alhambra Decree: coerced conversion made belief unverifiable, the test migrated to ancestry, and Spain backed into the invention of race — while the Inquisition, a counterweight captured by the crown, built the courtroom in which no fact could refute the charge.

III. The Vent and the Ocean

Three documents of 1492, signed in one siege camp: the frontier that had vented Castile's surplus swords for three centuries closed in January, and in April the same instrument that had licensed the old conquests chartered the next one. The Canaries had already rehearsed everything.

IV. The Toolkit Crosses

The Requirement — world title derived from Adam, Peter and the Pope, read in Spanish to uncomprehending villages, notarised for God and posterity — and the encomienda: the old machine shipped west with its one humane clause deleted, tutelage wearing extraction's clothes.

V. The Accounting

The largest demographic catastrophe in the human record, sorted honestly into its three engines — the visible violence smallest, the biological greatest, the metabolic compounding both — with the ranges stated, the pax's reality conceded, and the Tacitus discipline held to the end.

VI. The Debug Attempt

Montesinos's question, Las Casas's fifty years, Vitoria's lectures, the New Laws and the Peru revolt, and the only empire that suspended its conquests to debate its right to them — the measurement of what reform-within-the-doctrine can do: moderate everything, reverse nothing.

VII. The Machine That Ran a New World

Two republics under one crown — the aljama architecture rebuilt at hemispheric scale, native lords as Theodemirs — with race installed where the priced creed used to be: limpieza elaborated into the casta system, the first fully built racial order of the modern world.

VIII. The Apex Breaks Again

Napoleon decapitated Madrid and the empire fell as every foreclosed order in the series falls — at the apex, inherited by its local managers, the words changed and the floor kept. Then the trilogy's final audit: posture over

content, race as the closed text's patch, jurisdiction as the only safeguard — and the strongest case against the method itself, held at the very close.

Preface

This is the third and final volume of the Iberia Series, and it carries the laboratory's findings to their destination. The first volume watched a hunted prince rule by a word whose owners had condemned him, and anatomised the machine — the priced subordination of one creed by another — that made minority rule cheap for centuries. The second watched the military gradient of the peninsula reverse and the machine change hands intact, proving it had no creed of its own. This volume watches the machine's one humane clause — the priced contract that left the soul alone — deleted by a closed text; watches the deletion manufacture, as a bureaucratic patch for belief it had coerced and could no longer verify, the doctrine of heritable blood that became race; and watches the whole apparatus, just as the internal frontier closed on a surplus of swords, ship across an ocean.

It is also the volume in which the trilogy's open verdict comes due. Volumes I and II ended by asking whether the content of a legitimating doctrine matters, or only its posture — whether any universal word, once its text is closed, will run the same sequence. The Spanish case is the discriminating evidence, because it contains both edges of the same word at maximum extension: the Requirement read from horseback to uncomprehending villages, and the friars who turned the conquest's own warrant against the conquest in the only self-indictment any empire of the age conducted. The audit at the close renders the verdict the full record supports, and then — because the project's coda requires it — hands the reader the strongest case against the method itself.

The dead of this volume are the most numerous in the series, and the registers that should count them are the most broken. The accounting is attempted honestly, with its ranges and its failures stated, and the dead are held — on every shore of every ocean this volume crosses — with the gravity they are owed. They were never only evidence.

PART I

The Two Surrenders

Granada capitulated twice: once in 1492, on sixty-seven articles of the old machine's best clauses — and once a decade later, when the articles were burned with the books.

The Best Draft of the Old Contract

On 25 November 1491, in the siege lines before Granada, the last emir of al-Andalus and the Catholic Monarchs of Castile and Aragon signed the most generous capitulation in the eight-century tradition this series has been tracing since the Treaty of Tudmir. The Capitulations of Granada ran to some sixty-seven articles, and they read like the old machine's accumulated case law compiled by its best lawyers — which, in effect, they were, for both delegations had eight hundred years of precedent at the table. The Muslims of Granada were to keep their religion and its full public practice; their mosques, minarets and muezzins; their law, administered by their own qadis under their own muftis; their property, movable and immovable; their baths, their customs, their dress. There would be no forced conversion — the article was explicit — and, in a clause that shows how carefully the Granadan negotiators had read the last century, even renegades, Christians who had converted to Islam, were not to be persecuted, nor Muslim women married to Christians coerced. Taxes were to remain for three years at the accustomed Nasrid rates and never thereafter exceed them. Those who preferred exile could sell up and cross to Africa freely, shipping provided. On 2 January 1492 Boabdil handed over the Alhambra keys, the great silver cross went up on the watchtower, and Muslim political sovereignty in Iberia ended, seven hundred and eighty-one years after Tariq's landing — not in a sack but in a contract, the same instrument that had opened the era closing it.

For seven years the contract substantially held, and the holding had a face: Hernando de Talavera, first archbishop of Granada, Isabella's own confessor — and a man of converso descent, a detail Part II will teach the reader to weight. Talavera ran what the project recognises as the gradient strategy of Volume I in Christian colours: no compulsion, Arabic-speaking clergy (he commissioned grammars and had himself tutored), preaching, schools, alms — conversion by attraction down a gradient of advantage, the method that had Islamised al-Andalus over three centuries and that he, apparently alone among the kingdom's principals, understood would Christianise it over the same timescale or not at all. The method was working at a method's pace: slowly, locally, two generations deep at minimum. It was the pace that proved intolerable.

The Man Who Could Not Wait

In 1499 the court came to Granada and brought Cisneros — Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo, the queen's new confessor, Franciscan rigorist, the coming man of the militant church. What he saw in Granada was not a gradient operating but a scandal persisting: an officially Christian crown presiding over a publicly Islamic city. His methods, over Talavera's objections, were direct: leading Muslim notables and clerics imprisoned and pressured until they accepted baptism; mass christenings — he reported to Rome, with satisfaction, three thousand converts in a single day in December 1499; and, in the gesture history remembers, the public burning of Granada's Arabic books — the Qurans and religious literature of the conquered city heaped and fired in the plaza (medical and philosophical works, the tradition says, were spared for the university; the proportions are chronicle-grade, the bonfire is not). His own cathedral chapter warned him the methods breached the Capitulations. The breach was the point: a contract with error, in the rigorist reading, was itself error, and had only ever been a tactic of war.

The city answered as the suburb of Cordoba had answered al-Hakam in 818. In December 1499 the Albaicín — the Muslim quarter — rose; the rising was talked down by Talavera and the captain-general, then reignited in the mountains; and through 1500–1501 the Alpujarras burned in the first great revolt, put down with massacre and enslavement by columns the king led in person. And then came the move this volume exists to anatomise. The crown's jurists ruled that rebellion had *released* the monarchs from the Capitulations — the guarantee voided by the resistance its violation had provoked, a clause of self-licensing the reader has met at Toledo in 1087 and will meet on three continents. In February 1502 the choice was put to every Muslim of the Crown of Castile: baptism or exile — and exile on terms (the routes, the property rules, the prohibition on taking children to Islamic lands) designed to be nearly impossible. The overwhelming majority were baptised. They entered Christian society as the *Moriscos*, and Spanish history for the next century is shadowed by the question the font could not answer: what, exactly, had been converted?

What Actually Ended in 1502

The project asks the reader to be precise about what died in those ten years, because it was not toleration in the sentimental sense — the dhimma and the Mudéjar regimes were never that. What died was the *contract*: the eight-century instrument by which belief was priced rather than policed — the machine that said, in every one of its versions from Theodemir's seven towns to Boabdil's sixty-seven articles, *keep your God and pay; the order asks your obedience, not your soul*. That machine, as Volume II proved, was belief-neutral and ran under either creed; it had survived conquests, purifiers and reversals. It did not survive 1502, because 1502 was not a change of management but a change of *kind*: a closed doctrine — and Part II will show it had been closing for a century before Granada — deleted the category of priced unbelief itself, exactly as the Almohads had deleted it within Islam three centuries earlier, and demanded the soul instead of the tax.

And in doing so it manufactured, at scale, the specific human type the Almohad chapter taught the reader to recognise: the coerced convert — outwardly professing, inwardly unverifiable, legally inside the faith and socially outside it, suspected precisely *because* his conversion had been compelled. The Morisco joined the Converso — the baptised Jew of Part II — in the impossible position the closed text creates wherever it conquers: commanded to believe, punished on suspicion of not believing, with no procedure on earth by which sincerity could be proven. A tested order would have recognised the trap, because the trap was its own

construction. What the new Spain built instead was an institution for living inside the trap permanently — a machine for interrogating the unverifiable, which is Part II's subject, and a doctrine of blood to do what the unverifiable creed no longer could, which is Part II's terrible conclusion. The sixty-seven articles were the old world's last document. The instrument that replaced them had already been operating in Seville for twenty years.

PART II

The Test That Moved to Blood

When belief is coerced, it can no longer be verified; when it cannot be verified, the test migrates to ancestry. Spain did not set out to invent race. It backed into it, by the logic of a closed text.

The Century Before: 1391

To understand 1492 the reader must go back a hundred years, to the summer the old contract first broke from below. In 1391, beginning in Seville under the preaching of a fanatic archdeacon and racing through Castile and Aragon city by city, Christian mobs fell on the Jewish quarters — the juderías of communities that had lived under the same priced contract as the Mudéjars, and that had served Castilian kings as financiers, physicians and administrators since the conquests of Volume II. Synagogues burned; thousands died; and tens of thousands — under the sword that summer, and under two more decades of organised pressure, staged disputations and discriminatory law — accepted baptism: by common scholarly estimate as many as half of Spanish Jewry within a generation, the largest mass conversion in medieval European history.

By the old machine's logic, the story should have ended there — in tragedy for the dead, and in absorption for the living. Baptism, in the church's own unambiguous doctrine, made a Christian: the convert's children were Christians' children, the gradient had simply been run by force instead of advantage, and within two generations the *conversos* were what the gradient always produces — assimilating, intermarrying (into the high nobility, extensively), and rising. They rose, in fact, spectacularly: into the church to its episcopate, into royal finance, municipal office, the professions — everything their unbaptised grandparents had been barred from. And the rise detonated the resentment that changed the world: the Old Christian populace and the office-holding classes, watching the converts capture positions, found themselves doctrinally disarmed — the church insisted these competitors were full Christians — and reached for the only disqualification baptism could not cure.

Toledo, 1449: The Sentence

It has a birth certificate. In 1449, in Toledo — the reader may notice this city's recurring role — an anti-tax revolt under Pero Sarmiento turned against the converso financiers associated with the crown, and the rebel government issued the *Sentencia-Estatuto*: a decree barring all persons of Jewish descent, baptised or not, however distant the ancestor, from public office and legal testimony in the city. The pope condemned it; theologians condemned it — its premise, that baptism could not cleanse a lineage, was rank heresy by the

church's own sacramental doctrine, and was named as such. It spread anyway, over the following century, through cathedral chapters, military orders, colleges, guilds and town councils, as the statutes of *limpieza de sangre* — purity of blood: the requirement, eventually bureaucratised into a vast genealogical industry of certificates and investigations, that a candidate prove descent free of Jewish or Moorish "stain," ultimately to time immemorial.

The project now states, with the care the claim deserves, what it takes this to be: the documented assembly, piece by piece and against doctrinal protest, of the concept that would organise the modern world's cruelest hierarchies — *race*: heritable, indelible group essence, transmitted by blood, immune to belief, conduct or law. And the assembly followed a logic this series can specify exactly, because the whole trilogy has been building the vocabulary for it. The old machine priced belief, and could do so because belief was *legible* — the dhimmi's faith was public, taxed and voluntary, so the boundary policed itself. Coerced conversion destroyed the legibility: 1391's baptisms created a population whose professed belief was, by construction, unverifiable — commanded at swordpoint, therefore worthless as evidence — inside a doctrine that made belief the only thing that mattered. A closed text cannot tolerate an unverifiable boundary; the boundary had to be redrawn in something that could be verified; and the only verifiable thing left was *descent*. Race, on this record, is not an ancient hatred surfacing. It is a bureaucratic patch — the test that migrates to blood when a revealed order coerces belief and then cannot audit what it coerced. The Almohads of Volume II, who forced Jews into Islam and then made their descendants wear distinguishing dress for generations *because* their profession could not be trusted, had run the same migration within Islam three centuries earlier. The logic is not Christian or Muslim. It is what the closed text does to the conquered, whoever closes it.

The Machine for Interrogating the Unverifiable

The institutional half arrived under the Catholic Monarchs. Persuaded — at Seville in 1477–78 — that crypto-Judaism was rife among Andalusia's conversos, Isabella and Ferdinand obtained from Rome, by the bull of November 1478, authority to appoint inquisitors; the first tribunal sat at Seville in 1480, and the first burnings followed within months. The Spanish Inquisition's defining feature, for this series, is not its cruelty (its procedures were, by the age's standards, lawyerly) but its *ownership*: unlike the medieval papal inquisition it replaced, it was a crown institution — inquisitors named by the monarchs, revenue to the royal fisc, jurisdiction wielded as state power across both crowns. Volume I ended by revising this project's framework: what matters about counterweights is jurisdiction — and what 1480 built was the inverse case that completes the proof: a *captured* counterweight, conscience's tribunal owned by the apex it should have checked, the one institution that might have judged the crown converted into the crown's most penetrating instrument. The project's first inquiry called the deliberate elimination of independent checking-points *foreclosure*, and dated Castile's to this generation: the Inquisition annexed to the crown, the military orders' masterships annexed to the crown, the towns broken to royal officers, the nobility bought off the councils — the plural, raucous Iberia of Volume II closing, institution by institution, into the unanswerable monarchy that could do what Part I described to Granada without one body in the realm positioned to say no.

And the tribunal's epistemology is the purest specimen of the revealed posture in the entire series, worth dissecting once, clinically. The crime — judaising, secret apostasy — was interior and therefore unobservable; the evidence was conduct (a lit candle Friday evening, an aversion to pork, clean linen on the wrong day) plus denunciation, the accusers anonymous; and the procedure was constructed so that no outcome could disconfirm the charge: confession confirmed it; confession under torture confirmed it; denial

demonstrated obduracy; reconciliation followed by relapse proved the first confession false. An accusation, once made, could be survived but never *refuted* — there was no fact a defendant could produce that the system was obliged to count against itself. Volume I defined a revealed doctrine as one that reads every failure as insufficient fidelity and no event as refutation. The Inquisition is that definition built as a courtroom — and it ran, prosecuting by the scholarly estimates some hundred and fifty thousand souls over its career, burning thousands (the counts are contested and the project gives them as ranges elsewhere; the architecture is not contested), for three and a half centuries.

The keystone went in at Granada. In the conquered city's afterglow, on 31 March 1492, the monarchs signed the Alhambra Decree: the Jews of Spain — the unconverted remnant, perhaps eighty thousand, perhaps twice that; the figures are fought over and the project declines to pick — were given four months to accept baptism or leave the kingdoms forever. The stated logic completed the circle this part has drawn: the conversos could not be secured in their new faith, the decree reasoned, while open Jews remained to "subvert" them — the unverifiable converts' existence now justifying the expulsion of the verifiable believers, the coerced conversion of 1391 supplying the rationale for the coerced choice of 1492. Many converted; tens of thousands went — to Portugal (where the trap re-sprang within five years), to North Africa, to the Ottoman lands whose sultan, the story goes, marvelled at a king who impoverished his own realm to enrich his — and Sephardic Jewry entered its long Mediterranean exile carrying the keys of Toledo and the Castilian of 1492, which their descendants speak still. Ten years later, Part I's decree did the same to Islam. By 1502, in Castile, the eight-century experiment was formally over: one God, one law, one king — and, pending verification that could never come, one increasingly elaborate genealogical police of the blood.

The reader has now seen the laboratory's final product line: the closed text; the captured tribunal; the unverifiable convert; the test moved to blood. In the same months that the keystone went in, in the same camp before Granada, the same monarchs signed one more document — a contract with a Genoese sailor — and the products began to ship.

PART III

The Vent and the Ocean

For three centuries the frontier had converted Castile's surplus swords into landed lords. In January 1492 the frontier ran out. In August, three ships sailed from Palos.

The Year With Three Documents

The year 1492 holds three documents signed by the same two monarchs, and the project asks the reader to hold them as one transaction. On 2 January, the Capitulations of Granada closed the last internal frontier. On 31 March, the Alhambra Decree closed the last internal *other*. And in April, at Santa Fe — the siege-city built facing Granada, the camp itself — the monarchs signed the Capitulations of Santa Fe with Christopher Columbus: titles, a tenth of the proceeds, and the government of whatever he should find, in exchange for finding it. The same word, *capitulaciones*, the same notarial form, the same negotiating season; the instrument that had just retired the old frontier was, in the same camp, chartering the next one. He sailed from Palos on 3 August — the week, as it happened, of the expulsion deadline, the harbours of the south crowded with the departing. Nothing in the timing was designed; everything in it was structural, and Part III's business is the structure.

The Surplus

Volume II identified the mechanism driving the Christian conquests from behind: elite overproduction — a warrior aristocracy breeding faster than its land supply, its dangerous surplus vented for three centuries into the frontier, which converted landless swords into landed lords at the expense of al-Andalus. The vent was not a policy but an ecosystem: the *capitulación* (crown licenses to private warlords to conquer at their own cost for a share of the take), the adelantado (the licensed march-lord), the frontier raid economy, the booty-and-vassals model of social ascent — Castile had run it so long that its nobility's entire culture of expectation was built on it. The Granada war was the ecosystem's last great feeding: ten years of campaigning that had mobilised the kingdom's fighting class entire. And then it ended — victory closing the vent with the surplus at maximum, an army of hidalgos demobilising into a realm with no more Granadas: the younger sons, the poor gentry of Extremadura and Andalusia, men bred to the sword and the expectation, owning a horse, a lineage and nothing else. The project has met this configuration before every catastrophe in its files; Turchin's secular cycles and Ibn Khaldun's restless margin both describe it; and fifteenth-century Castile's own civil wars show what the surplus did when penned. What was different, this once, in all of world history,

was the exit: an ocean opened beside the closed vent, and the crown — which feared its demobilised swordsmen as much as any crown — possessed, ready-made, the exact legal technology for pointing them away: the conquest license. The conquistadors were not an aberration or a race of monsters; they were the Granada ecosystem's standing output, redirected. Cortés and Pizarro were poor gentry of Extremadura — the dry frontier province that had lived by the vent longest — and the bands they led ran on the old frontier's complete social template: the private company under capitulación, the notary recording shares, the fifth for the crown, the booty, the distributed vassals. The Reconquista did not end in 1492. Its machinery, deprived of Moors, was issued new coordinates.

The Rehearsal Islands

Between the old frontier and the new world lay a rehearsal stage the histories long skipped: the Canary Islands, conquered by Castile across the fifteenth century from their indigenous peoples — the Guanches and their island kin, stone-age herdsmen isolated since antiquity. Every element of what followed in America was field-tested there first: the capitulación licensing private conquerors; the alliances with island factions against their rivals; the mass baptisms and the theological debates over whether the natives, once baptised, could be enslaved (the popes said no; the markets said otherwise); the distribution — *repartimiento* — of conquered people and lands among the conquerors; the sugar plantations; the demographic collapse of the conquered within two generations, by violence, enslavement, dislocation and unfamiliar disease; and the absorption of the remnant into the colonists' blood and oblivion. The Guanches were the first people in the modern Atlantic to be discovered, converted, distributed and dissolved, and the project records them here, at the threshold, because their case proves the kit was assembled *before* contact with America — nothing that happened after 1492 was improvised, and nothing required the Aztecs to explain it. The laboratory had a working prototype offshore. What the ocean added was scale.

What the ocean also added was distance — and distance, the reader of Volume I knows, restructures everything. The crown that licensed the conquest companies could not supervise them across an eight-week sea; the conquerors who subdued populations of millions with companies of hundreds did so, as in 711 mirrored yet again, by capturing apex fractures (Tenochtitlan and Cuzco both fell substantially by alliance with the imperial systems' internal enemies — the subject peoples and rival claimants whose position logic made the strangers useful) and inheriting running machines, tribute lists intact; and between the conqueror on the ground and the word in Castile there opened the same gap this series has measured between every metropolitan title and every local performance. Into that gap, in 1513, the crown's lawyers lowered the most extraordinary document in the series — the loaded word, stripped to the wire, read from horseback to people who could not understand it. Part IV.

PART IV

The Toolkit Crosses

A notarised speech deriving world title from Adam, Peter and the Pope, read in Spanish to uncomprehending villages; a "distribution" of human beings descended from the frontier's booty law; and the old machine shipped west with its one humane clause deleted.

The Requirement

In 1512, troubled by the first reports and sermons from the islands — Part VI will come to the friars — King Ferdinand convened a junta of theologians and jurists at Burgos to settle the legal basis of the whole enterprise, and the crown's chief jurist, Juan López de Palacios Rubios, drafted the instrument that resulted: the *Requerimiento*, the Requirement, carried first by the Darién expedition of 1513 and read, for decades thereafter, at the edge of conquests across two continents. The text deserves the slow reading this series gives founding documents, because nothing in the collection states the mechanics of legitimating language so nakedly. It begins with the creation of the world and the unity of mankind in Adam; proceeds to God's grant of spiritual monarchy to St Peter and his successors; recites the reigning pope's donation of these islands and mainlands to the crowns of Castile; and then *requires* the hearers — in the name of the king and queen — to acknowledge the church, the pope and the monarchs, in which case they shall be received in love, left their liberty and lands, and not compelled to turn Christian; and warns that, if they refuse or maliciously delay, war will be made on them, their wives and children taken into slavery, their goods seized — and, the document concludes in the first person of the conqueror, *the deaths and losses that follow will be your fault, not Their Highnesses', nor ours*.

In practice the Requirement was read in Spanish or Latin, from out of arrow range, at night to sleeping villages, to empty beaches, to the jungle — and a notary recorded the reading, because the reading was for the record: the document's audience was never the Indians but God, the law and posterity. Las Casas, who watched it used, wrote that one did not know whether to laugh or to weep at it, and history has voted with him. But the project asks the reader to take the absurdity seriously, because its existence is the finding. A power that believed force self-justifying would not have bothered; conquistadors a year's sail beyond enforcement bothered, expedition after expedition, because the entire structure above them — their licenses, their titles, their fifth to the crown, the crown's own title against rival kings, the legitimacy of the word *Christian* in *Christian monarchs* — ran on a universal claim, and a universal claim must be *offered* to be valid: the heathen must be given the choice the theology said all Adam's children possessed, or the conquest was robbery and the crown knew it. The Requirement is what Volume I's loaded-word mechanism looks like

under maximum strain: the word so universal it must be read to people who cannot understand it, in order to license what would be done to them regardless — the form preserved precisely *because* the word cannot be fenced, even from its victims. And preserved forms, this series has shown from England's charters onward, are pry-bars left in the wall: within a generation, Spain's own theologians would seize the Requirement's premises — Adam's unity, the natives' possession of reason and dominion — and turn them against the conquest itself, in the only empire-wide legitimacy crisis any conquering power of the age inflicted on itself. The word that licensed the conquerors was already loading against them. Part VI watches it fire.

The Distribution

Beneath the word, the extraction ran on an instrument with a longer pedigree. *Repartimiento* — distribution — was frontier law from the Reconquista: the partition of a conquered city's houses, lands and revenues among the conquerors, run at Seville in 1248 and Granada in the 1490s by royal commissioners with books. In the islands it was applied to what the islands had instead of rents: people. The *encomienda* — from encomendar, to entrust — assigned ("commended") groups of Indians, by name of their chief, to individual Spaniards, who acquired their tribute and, in the early decades, their labour, and owed in return protection, good treatment and instruction in the faith. The form was the old machine's: the conquered kept (in theory) their lands, their headmen, their communities, and paid their accustomed renders to new lords — Theodemir's bargain, the Mudéjar bargain, the template of eight centuries, shipped west with the conquerors' notaries.

But the reader who has followed the machine through two volumes will see at once that the shipped version was missing its load-bearing part, and the absence explains much of what followed. The dhimma and its Mudéjar mirror were *contracts of belief*: the subordinated kept their God, and that retention was the consideration that made the arrangement, in their own eyes and their own law, an exchange — priced, legible, self-policing, with native institutions (qadi, aljama, bishop) intact to administer their own side. The encomienda kept the extraction schedule and deleted the consideration. Conversion was not the alternative to the tribute; it was *mandatory alongside it* — the Requirement's one absolute demand — so there was no priced category to stand in, no gradient to descend at one's own pace, no communal contract a native institution could enforce, and no point at which compliance purchased standing: the baptised Indian paid tribute still, as the baptised morisco bore the blood statutes still, the closed text's signature in both hemispheres. What remained, with the contract clause deleted, was tutelage wearing extraction's clothes — "entrusted" populations whose trustees' income was their labour, an arrangement whose incentives required no cruelty of character to become what the friars described, though cruelty of character was abundantly supplied. The crown saw the shape early — Isabella's deathbed codicil worried at it; thirty years of legislation tried to govern it — and could not delete it, for the reason Part VI will weigh: the trustees were the colony, and the crown's fifth was downstream of the trust.

The toolkit, then, as it stood assembled on the mainland by the 1520s: the conquest license from the old frontier; the Requirement above; the distribution below; the blood-test doctrine in the baggage (Part VII will watch it unpack); and around it all, arriving with every ship, the invisible cargo no one had licensed. What the toolkit met — empires of millions, dense, urban, irrigated, running on tribute lists a Castilian assessor could read like home — and what happened in the meeting, is the accounting this series owes before anything else can be said. It is the largest entry in the project's ledger, and Part V attempts it with the honesty the dead are owed.

PART V

The Accounting

The conquest's battles killed thousands. What followed killed populations — and the killing ran along the very routes the new order opened. The second inquiry's grimmest theorem, at the largest scale in the series.

The Honest Numbers, Which Is to Say the Ranges

The project's method requires counting costs on every side and telling the reader where the registers fail. Here they fail at the foundation: the population of the Americas in 1492 is among the most contested numbers in historical scholarship, with serious estimates for the hemisphere ranging across an order of magnitude, and the disputes are not pedantry — every figure carries a politics, from the early colonial chroniclers (whose numbers served indictment or excuse) to the twentieth-century "high counters" of the Berkeley school, whose tribute-roll reconstructions put central Mexico alone above twenty-five million, to the critics who have audited those methods down to fractions of that. The project takes no side it cannot earn, and states only what the convergent evidence supports. For central Mexico, every serious reconstruction — whatever its baseline — finds a collapse on the order of ninety per cent within a century of contact: where the high counts run from some twenty-five million to around a million by the early seventeenth century, the conservative simulations, built on the Basin of Mexico alone, run from over a million and a half to under two hundred thousand in the same span — the baselines differ by an order of magnitude; the *proportion* scarcely moves. For Hispaniola, where it began: contact estimates run from a hundred thousand to several million and cannot be settled — what is settled is the end, for the Taíno as an organised people were effectively gone within two generations of 1492, the first complete demographic extinction of the modern Atlantic after the Canaries' rehearsal. For the Andes, the same curve on a slightly slower clock. Whatever the true baselines, the event is the largest demographic catastrophe in the human record relative to its population, and the project writes the rest of this part under that sentence's weight.

The Two Violences, Sorted

The second inquiry's central theorem, carried from the Thirty Years' War and An Lushan and tested here at maximum scale, holds that in the collapse of an order the visible violence — battle, massacre, atrocity — is the trigger, and the lethal violence is metabolic: the dying that follows when the systems coordinating subsistence are broken. The American case adds a third engine no one in it understood, and the sorting matters morally as well as analytically, so the project sorts with care.

The visible violence was real, abundant and documented overwhelmingly by Spanish pens — the massacres at Cholula and in the Cuzco wars, the atrocities of the island years that Las Casas catalogued with a polemicist's arithmetic and an eyewitness's detail, the suppressions, the brandings, the hunting of fugitives. It killed, at the scale of the whole, thousands upon thousands — and it was the smallest of the three engines, a fact that excuses nothing and explains everything that follows.

The biological engine was the greatest. The smallpox that reached Mexico with the conquerors in 1519–20 — killing, by the standard estimates, millions in its first pass, the emperor Cuitláhuac among them, and gutting Tenochtitlan's defence in the city's death-year — was the first wave of a sixty-year battery: measles, typhus, influenza, and the catastrophic epidemics the Nahua called *cocoliztli* in 1545 and 1576, each reckoned in further millions, which recent research reads as indigenous haemorrhagic fevers detonated by drought among a population already broken. A "virgin-soil" population met the accumulated disease pool of the connected Old World all at once; no malice was required for the dying, and the careful modern simulations confirm that neither genetic frailty nor Spanish cruelty need be presumed to generate the ninety per cent. But the project refuses the comfortable stop the disease story offers, because the second inquiry exists to refuse it. Epidemics travel on *connection*: the new pax's own arteries — the shipping lanes, the roads, the congregated mission towns into which scattered populations were deliberately concentrated (Part VII), the labour drafts marching highland men to lowland heat — were the vector network; the Black Death of the project's earlier files rode the Mongol pax's routes, and these pathogens rode Spain's. And epidemic mortality is not a constant of biology but a variable of social condition: a fed, housed, ordered population buries its dead and recovers, as Europe's did; a population whose fields stood unharvested because the able-bodied were at the mines, whose villages had been forcibly consolidated, whose every institution of mutual aid had been decapitated or banned, dies of the secondary famine and the broken nursing as much as the virus — which is the metabolic engine, the second violence, compounding the biological one at every step.

For the metabolic engine, one institution can stand for the system, because contemporaries already used it that way: Potosí. The silver mountain of the Andes, from the 1570s, was fed by the *mita* — the viceroyalty's adaptation of the Inca's own rotational labour draft, the conquered empire's coordination machinery repurposed, as this series has watched machinery repurposed on three continents, to send thousands of highland villagers each year to the mine and the mercury works. The drafts emptied valleys; the flight from the drafts emptied more; the silver paid Spain's armies in Flanders and, through the Manila galleons, monetised China — the first genuinely planetary economic circuit, a pax of global reach, running on a mountain that contemporaries themselves called the mouth of hell. The project holds, here as always, the Tacitus discipline: the Pax Hispanica was *real* — three centuries in which the Indies knew no interstate war, one law, one coinage, roads, courts, universities, printing within a generation of conquest, and an honest count must say that the empire's interior peace exceeded contemporary Europe's; and the desert was real, and the same instrument made both, and the entanglement of order's genuine value with the powerful's self-justification must be held apart and never resolved — *they make a desert and call it peace* was written of another empire, and no sentence in the files fits this one better, and neither does any sentence about what three centuries of peace are worth. Both. Held.

What the accounting establishes, before Part VI can be honestly told, is the scale of the thing the reformers were reforming: not a cruelty that better men could have administered kindly, but a system whose extraction was structural, whose deadliest engines ran below anyone's intention, and whose beneficiaries included every

actor — crown, church, colonist — with standing to change it. That is the position into which, in December 1511, a Dominican friar walked, and said no.

PART VI

The Debug Attempt

Spain's own friars turned the conquest's word against the conquest — and the empire did what no conquering power of the age did: it suspended its conquests to debate its right to them. What reform-within-the-doctrine could and could not do is this part's measurement.

The Sermon

In Advent of 1511, on Hispaniola, before the assembled encomenderos of Santo Domingo — the island's first families, at Mass — the Dominican Antonio de Montesinos preached on a text from Isaiah, a voice crying in the wilderness, and delivered the oldest surviving moral indictment of European colonisation, in the form of questions: by what right do you hold these Indians in such servitude? Are they not men? — *are these not men?* — and on what authority do you wage such detestable wars on people living peaceably in their own lands? The congregation's fury, the order's refusal to retract, the appeal to Spain — all followed within weeks, and the crown's response set the pattern for forty years: the junta at Burgos (1512), which produced the first code of Indian labour law in the Laws of Burgos and, from the same junta, the Requirement of Part IV — protection and license drafted at the same table, the doctrine debugging and re-arming itself in a single session.

In the congregation that Advent sat an encomendero priest named Bartolomé de las Casas, who held Indians in trust and would hold them for three more years. His conversion — preparing a Pentecost sermon in Cuba in 1514, he records, the texts turned in his hands against his own life — produced the most consequential moral career of the century: fifty years as polemicist, lobbyist, colonial experimenter, bishop, and historian of the destruction, the man whose Brevísima relación seared the conquest's image into Europe permanently (and supplied Spain's rivals the Black Legend their own conquests would shelter behind — the project notes the laundering without crediting it against the testimony). The career's two darkest features the project reports with the rest, because his honesty demands no less than ours: he proposed, in his early reforming years, easing the Indians' burden by importing African slaves — counsel he repented in his History in terms of unsparing self-condemnation, judging his own sin in it equal to what he had fought, and the African trade's expansion owed nothing essential to him and everything to the system's appetite; and his arithmetic of atrocity was a weapon, not a census, as Part V's method has already discounted. He was not a modern; he was something rarer — a man inside a closed text who found, within the text itself, the clauses that condemned what the text was licensing, and spent a life prying with them.

The Word Turned

For that is the structural event of this part, and the reader of the England and America volumes will recognise it as this series' oldest mechanism operating at empire scale: the legitimating word, universal by necessity, taken up by the excluded's advocates and turned. The conquest's whole warrant — the Requirement's own premises — held that the Indians were children of Adam, rational souls capable of faith, under a crown whose title was their evangelisation. Every premise was a pry-bar. If rational souls: then, by the natural law the schools taught, they held true dominion over their lands and polities, and the conquest was robbery — the argument Francisco de Vitoria, from the first chair of Salamanca, built into the foundations of international law in lectures (1539) that denied the emperor's and the pope's universal dominion outright, so alarming Charles V that he tried to silence the faculty. If capable of faith: then conversion by conquest was sacrilege, and Las Casas's massive treatise on the *only way* of conversion — peaceful persuasion — followed. If the crown's title was their welfare: then the encomienda stood condemned by the very grant that created it. The crown could not simply stop the friars' mouths, because the friars were arguing from the crown's own warrant; to refute them was to dissolve the title; and so the monarchy of the closed text and the captured tribunal found itself, on this one front, genuinely open — forced to host, fund and adjudicate a standing critique of its own foundation, conducted in its own theology.

The critique reached statute in the New Laws of 1542: Indian slavery abolished, new encomiendas banned, existing ones to lapse at the holder's death — the institution sentenced to extinction in one generation. And then came the measurement this part exists to take. Peru rose: the encomenderos under Gonzalo Pizarro killed the first viceroy in battle (1546) and held the richest colony in armed defiance until a royal envoy, by guile, pardon and the gallows, restored the crown's name — at the price of the laws' heart: the inheritance ban revoked (1545–46), the encomienda reprieved into long, regulated decay. Eight years later the debate reached its summit: the junta of Valladolid (1550–51), Las Casas against the humanist Sepúlveda on whether war upon the Indians for their barbarism was just by nature — convened while the emperor, by order of April 1550, *suspended new conquests pending the outcome*: the only occasion in the European expansion, and the project knows no parallel in any expansion, when an empire halted its engine to ask its own clerks whether it had the right to run. The junta dispersed without verdict; the suspension quietly lapsed; the word "conquest" was, by ordinance of 1573, retired in favour of "pacification" — the loaded word's career compressed into a single edit.

The Measurement

What, then, could reform-within-the-doctrine do? The record permits precision. It could *name* — Montesinos's question entered the permanent record and never left it. It could *constrain*: the laws thickened, the courts heard Indian suits by the tens of thousands (and Indians, this series notes with respect, learned the conqueror's legalism with formidable speed and litigated their communities' lands for three centuries), the worst island-era practices were genuinely extinguished on the mainland, and the difference between the Hispaniola of 1510 and the Mexico of 1600 — both terrible; not equally terrible — is in meaningful part the friars' difference. It could even, for one season, stop the engine to question it. What it could not do is abolish, and the reason is the position logic this series prefers to indignation: the critique's host was the system's beneficiary — the crown's fifth, the colonists' rents, the church's own tithes and missions all drew on the structure under indictment, and the New Laws' fate had demonstrated the price of enforcement: the colonies

in arms, the revenue in doubt, the empire itself, perhaps, into the hands of men with no doctrine at all. Charles V was not choosing between the encomienda and justice; he was choosing, as every apex in this series chooses, among the futures his own position could survive. The debug ran inside the machine it was debugging, with the machine's permission, on the machine's power — and so it moderated everything and reversed nothing, the precise signature, the reader will recognise, of every reform-within-doctrine in the project's files, from the Gracchi to the present file's last volume. The question the friars could not ask — whether the crown should be there at all — was the one clause of the warrant no pry-bar reached; Vitoria himself, having demolished every title, allowed commerce and preaching as just causes and left the door ajar; and through the ajar door the empire settled, the debate cooled into administration, and the administration is Part VII: the machine, fully assembled, running a new world for two and a half centuries — with the friars' victories built into its joints, and the blood-test doctrine of Part II built into its floor.

PART VII

The Machine That Ran a New World

Two republics, native lords as Theodemirs, the blood-test elaborated into a hierarchy of pigment — the old machine rebuilt at hemispheric scale, with race installed where the priced creed used to be.

The Two Republics

The mature empire that consolidated out of the conquest and the debates was organised, in law, as something the reader of this trilogy will find almost eerily familiar: two parallel commonwealths under one crown — the *república de españoles* and the *república de indios*. The Republic of Indians was a complete protected order: Indian towns with their own elected councils on the Castilian model; their own courts and customary law in their own affairs; their own nobility — the *caciques* and the descendants of the old imperial aristocracies, confirmed in rank, arms and privilege, collecting the tribute and delivering the obedience exactly as Theodemir had delivered Murcia's, as the aljamas had delivered Valencia's; protected lands inalienable to Spaniards; special courts (the General Indian Court of Mexico heard native suits for three centuries); tribute schedules in place of Spanish taxes; and a formal legal status — *miserables*, wards entitled to protection — that bundled genuine shelter with permanent minority. Spaniards were barred from residing in Indian towns; Indians, in theory, needed license to leave them. The friars' victories of Part VI were built into the structure's protective clauses; the conquest's extraction ran through its tribute and labour-draft clauses; and the whole was administered, necessarily, through the native lords whose position — brokers between the republics, paid in privilege for delivery — this series has anatomised from the dhimmi bishops to the Mudéjar alamines. It was the old machine, rebuilt at hemispheric scale by men who had its blueprints in their saddlebags — the same crown lawyers, in several documented cases the same families, who had administered Granada's Mudéjars — and it ran, with regional variation and constant renegotiation, for two and a half centuries: the longest single deployment of the priced-subordination architecture in the project's files.

One clause, as Part IV established, was missing, and its absence had been refilled — by the cargo from Part II. The old machine priced *belief*; here belief was mandatory, the republics were both Christian by law, and so the boundary between them — the thing the structure taxed, policed and reproduced — could not be creed. It was descent. The blood-test doctrine, invented in Castile to sort unverifiable converts, crossed the ocean in the conquerors' baggage and was elaborated, in the colonies' mixed and mixing population, into the *sistema de castas*: the graded hierarchy of birth — peninsular Spaniard above creole above mestizo above Indian above African slave, with the famous painted taxonomies of the eighteenth century naming the

fractions between — that assigned legal status, tribute liability, guild access, dress rights, marriage law and sacramental record-keeping (the parishes kept separate books by caste) according to ancestry. Limpieza de sangre, born as a patch for a broken religious test, had become the constitution of a society: the first fully elaborated racial order of the modern world, complete with the genealogical bureaucracy, the certificates, the litigation over classification — and the market in reclassification, for the system leaked, as all such systems leak, money and complexion negotiating what doctrine declared immutable. The project marks the genealogy with the precision it has earned across three volumes: the gradient machine of Volume I said *believe and the ledger clears*; the closed text of 1391–1502 said *the ledger is your blood*; and the casta system said it to a hemisphere, installing in every parish register and every child's earliest formation a hierarchy of birth that the independence wars would inherit, the republics would constitutionally abolish, and the societies — formation outliving law by centuries, as this series has found it outliving conquest, creed and crown — carry visibly still.

The Counterweights, Audited

Did anything check the structure? The trilogy's revised variable — counterweight *jurisdiction* — gets its final workout here, and the results complete the pattern. The church was real and plural: the friars' orders, the Jesuits' autonomous mission-states, the courts of conscience — and its jurisdiction, as in Cordoba, ran to *conduct*: it could and did veto cruelties, shelter communities, litigate, denounce; it could not touch the structure, whose tithes fed it, and its boldest autonomous experiment, the Jesuit republics of Paraguay, was terminated by simple royal expulsion (1767) without one institution in the empire positioned to object — the foreclosure of Part II, fully matured: in the end the crown appointed the bishops, owned the tribunal, and licensed the press. The law was real and ubiquitous — the empire was the most legislated polity on earth, and native litigants worked it shrewdly — and the law's jurisdiction ended where every colonial law's ends, at the structure that wrote it; the famous formula of colonial governors receiving impossible decrees — *obedezco pero no cumplo*, I obey but do not execute — was the system candidly pricing its own legality. And the silver flowed: Potosí and Zacatecas through Seville's monopoly port, financing the crown's European wars and dissolving, by a century of inflation and rentier rot, the Castilian economy itself — the conquerors' metropole hollowed by the conquest's proceeds, a metabolic irony the second inquiry files beside every empire that ate its own core. The machine, in short, ran itself — so completely that when the apex vanished, the reader already knows from two volumes what the machine did. It kept running, and looked for a new apex nearby.

PART VIII

The Apex Breaks Again

The empire did not fall to its colonised. It fell when Napoleon decapitated Madrid — the apex-fracture signature a third time — and the creole elites who inherited kept the floor and changed the words. The trilogy's final audit.

1808, or 711 Again

The Spanish empire in America ended the way the Visigothic kingdom ended, the way the caliphate ended, the way this series has found every foreclosed order ending: at the apex, suddenly, from a direction the structure had no procedure for. In 1808 Napoleon lured the Spanish king and his heir to Bayonne, extracted both abdications, and installed his brother — the crown of the two worlds simply *removed*, like Hisham II sealed in his palace, and with it the single legitimating point from which every viceroy, audiencia and casta privilege in the hemisphere hung. What followed in America was not, in its first years, revolution: it was the fitna pattern — juntas forming everywhere *in the captive king's name*, the word loyally retained while the machine was locally repossessed, exactly as the taifas had kept pet caliphs; then the contest of the repossessors; and only gradually, as restoration politics curdled, independence as conclusion rather than premise. The wars that ran to the 1820s were long and terrible — and the project's reading, prepared by three volumes, is structural: the empire was not overthrown by the colonised, whose great risings (the Andes had burned in the Túpac Amaru insurrection in the 1780s, drowned in blood by creole and crown together) had been crushed by the very elites who now led; it was forfeited by apex fracture and inherited by the local managers — the creoles, the American-born Spaniards whose grievance the Bourbon century had perfected.

That grievance the reader can write from the series' templates: elite overproduction under an office ceiling. The creoles were the colonies' wealth, learning and numbers among the privileged caste — and the peninsular-born monopolised the apex offices systematically (of the empire's long roll of viceroys, only a handful were ever American-born; the high courts and bishoprics ran the same way), a ceiling the Bourbon reforms of the eighteenth century, recentralising revenue and office in peninsular hands, lowered further precisely as creole numbers and wealth rose. The muwallads of Volume I held a cheque the word had written and the hierarchy would not cash; the creoles held the same cheque in Spanish, and 1808 opened the bank. Independence, when it came, was their settlement: the republics that emerged flew the age's most universal words — liberty, equality, the rights of man, constitutions by the dozen — over floors that changed with deliberate minimalism: the haciendas held, the Indian tribute (abolished, restored, renamed) held in substance, debt peonage replaced the labour drafts, the casta hierarchy survived its own legal abolition as the

social order everyone could see — everything changed and nothing changed, the title of this part earned clause by clause. And the new words, being universal, began at once their familiar career: every excluded population of the new republics — the Indian communities litigating as they had litigated under the crown, the freedmen, eventually the whole roll of the casta system's lower registers — took up the constitutions' own promises as pry-bars, a prying that has not ended; the reader who wants its nineteenth- and twentieth-century chapters will find their structure already drawn in this series' America and Césaire volumes, for it is the same chapter everywhere: the word outruns its authors, or it is no use to them.

❧

The Trilogy's Audit

Three volumes ago, this series came to Iberia because it was the one laboratory that ran the full experiment twice in both directions and then shipped the apparatus. The audit of the whole, holding every thesis as tested and never revealed.

The machine: proven belief-neutral beyond further need of argument — dhimma, Mudéjar regime, two republics: one architecture, three deployments, both creeds, two hemispheres, twelve centuries. Proven metabolic: it survived every apex it carried — Visigothic, Umayyad, Almohad, Nasrid, Habsburg, Bourbon — and each rupture's deaths were concentrated, as the second inquiry's theorem holds, not in the battles but in the coordination collapse, from the fitna's starved Cordoba to the broken subsistence webs of Part V, the largest such entry in the human record. And its one genuinely humane component identified by subtraction: the *priced-belief clause* — wherever subordination was a legible contract that left the soul alone, the machine was survivable and sometimes long-flourishing for the subordinated; both catastrophes in the trilogy's file, the Almohad and the Spanish, began at the precise moment a closed text deleted that clause.

The discriminating question, posed at Volume I's close and carried as the trilogy's open verdict: does the *content* of the legitimating doctrine matter, or only its posture? The verdict the full record supports: posture, overwhelmingly — and content at the margins, in both directions at once. The foreclosure sequence — coerce belief, lose the power to verify it, move the test to blood, build the tribunal, expel the unabsorbable — was run by Islam's Almohads and Christianity's Spain from doctrines that disagree on everything except the structural move that launched both: *closing the text*. Race itself, the laboratory's most consequential product, is on this record not a content but a patch — what any revealed order mints when it has coerced belief and cannot audit it. That is the posture's verdict. Content's margin is real and runs both ways: the specific universalism of the Christian word did shape the Spanish case's unique feature — no other conquering power of the age indicted itself, suspended its conquests, or built its victims standing courts, because no other conqueror's warrant was so structured that friars could read it back against the crown; the same warrant licensed the Requirement. The same word, the pry-bar and the brand. The project's mature position, earned across twelve centuries of one peninsula: doctrines load the words; posture decides what is done with them; and the only structural safeguard the whole record exhibits is the one the project's coda named from the start — counterweights with *jurisdiction*, plural points the apex does not own, tending without end. Castile's tragedy condensed: it entered the sixteenth century having foreclosed them — tribunal captured, orders annexed, towns broken — at the precise moment it acquired a hemisphere; the laboratory shipped with no one aboard empowered to say no, and the friars' magnificent, insufficient critique is the measure of what a

counterweight of conscience can do when it has voice and no jurisdiction: moderate everything, reverse nothing.

And the counter-position, held at the trilogy's very close, where this project stations the strongest case against itself. Everything above is structure, and the method brackets what it brackets: that the faiths were, to those inside them, true; that Talavera and Cisneros read the same Gospel; that Las Casas was one man, and mattered — the record of Part VI will not reduce to position, for other empires had positions and produced no Las Casas; that the dead of Part V were not entries; and that a method which explains the Requirement and the New Laws with the same instruments may be measuring everything but what the participants would have called the point. The project concedes the bracket is a bracket — a discipline, not a verdict on what it excludes — and replies only with its results: that the structural reading, tested across this peninsula and its ocean for twelve centuries, predicted where the catastrophes would enter (the unprocedured apex, the closed text, the captured counterweight) and where the mercies would (the priced contract, the universal word in the excluded's hands), and that a method which can say *where* is worth keeping, provided it is held the only way this series holds anything. The laboratory, after all, is still running — the casta registers' long shadow, the blood statutes' descendants in every chart of human worth by ancestry, the constitutions still being pried open by the people they excluded — and the posture is the entire moral of its twelve centuries: debug, don't defend; garden, don't build for eternity; and treat every claim that the text is closed — any text, ours included — as the sound the machinery makes just before it begins to count corpses. Tested. Never revealed.

A Note on Sources

The project's method requires that load-bearing specifics — dates, figures, decrees, treaty articles — be verified against current scholarship rather than asserted from memory or inherited from earlier drafts, and that the reader be told where the evidence is thin. The principal modern works consulted and relied upon for this volume include L. P. Harvey, Muslims in Spain 1500 to 1614, and the scholarship on the Granada capitulations and the Cisneros conversions; Henry Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision, with Benzion Netanyahu's and Norman Roth's contending accounts of the converso question, and the modern literature on limpieza de sangre from Albert Sicroff onward; Martínez, Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico, on the blood statutes' Atlantic career; Lewis Hanke, The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America, with Patricia Seed, Ceremonies of Possession, on the Requirement; the demographic literature from Cook and Borah through Henige's critique and the Basin-of-Mexico simulations, cited in Part V as the contested ranges they are; Las Casas's own corpus, read as testimony and as polemic; James Lockhart and the ethnohistorical school on the República de indios and native litigation; Peter Bakewell on Potosí and the mita; and John Lynch with Jaime Rodríguez on the Bourbon reforms, 1808, and the independence settlements.

Where the volume reports a detail of chronicle-grade reliability, it says so in the text at the point of use. Population and casualty figures are given throughout as the contested ranges they are, with the disputes named; the proportion of the collapse, on which all serious reconstructions converge, is distinguished from the baselines, on which none do. The conclusions throughout are the project's own; the sources supply the verified specifics on which a structural reading must stand or fall.